THE

Registered No. M. 476

Wednesday Review

OF

POLITICS, LITERATURE, SOCIETY, SCIENCE, ETC.

Vol XV
No. 34.

1 OCTOBER, 1919.

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HEAD OFFICE.—3, MAIN GUARD ROAD, TEPPAKULAM, TRICHINOPOLY.
LONDON AGENTS:—W. M. DAWSON AND SONS LTD., CANNON STREET, LONDON E. C.

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We may be permitted to state that the views of our contributors and correspondents do not necessarily reflect the policy of the Wednesday Review.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

In referring to the Anglo-Persian Agreement at the banquet to the Persian Foreign Minister at the Carlton Hotel, Lord Curzon said that he doubted very much whether as a result of the war they had succeeded in pacifying Europe, but whether they had done so or not, he was quite certain that they could not for sometime secure stability in Asia. He explained that the rise of bolshevism during the past few months had introduced a new and disturbing element on the scene and so long as that power retained vitality and force, they would see a violent propaganda pushed throughout the various countries of Asia through Transcapia and Afghanistan right to the borders of China and it might be that in escaping the dangers of the recent war they might have to confront perils even more serious in the future. We trust the significance of Lord Curzon's observations will not be lost upon those who are responsible for the preservation of order and peace in India and in her neighbourhood. Certain recent events leave no one in doubt as to the existence of bolshevik influences in this country. A lenient and vacillating Government may be easily persuaded to adopt what are called root remedies to check its spread with the result that the remedies will aid in spreading bolshevism more quickly. Whether the Amir had anything to do with them or not, the bolshevik had a hand in the Punjab disturbances. But for the prompt application of the Martial law the situation would have easily got out of control, giving him a free run of the province. We are constrained to say that the India Government do not always show the same firmness in dealing with ugly situations. There is too great a proneness in them to temporise and make terms with the agitators. The pity of it is that there are agitators and agitators, and very often only a thin line marks off 'constitutional' agitation from open violence. And a too lenient handling of a situation merely helps in obliterating even that line. If the Government here should not forget their mission and do their duty by the millions of people entrusted to their charge, they should never cease to remember that the bolshevik is abroad and a weak-kneed policy in dealing with seditious agitations will be an open invitation to the bolshevik to try his luck in India.

One of the few British journals which show a correct appreciation of the situation in India is the *Spectator*. In a recent issue it drew the attention of its readers to the circumstance that the India Office had kept back till the last moment the adverse reports of the Provincial Governments who know something about India. Mr. Montagu's

methods in this respect have not been above board and he has all along tried to put back anything in the nature of adverse criticism of his reform proposals. That is hardly fair to the British public and Parliament who are after all responsible for the good government of India. The *Spectator* thinks that the British Cabinet seems to have no foresight and drift into measures like this. It looks like it, and if the Home Government had examined the proposals carefully they would not have been a party to the policy of hustle which Mr. Montagu has succeeded in committing them to. Our contemporary rightly lays stress upon the contention of Lord Salisbury that, in building a constitution, India ought to adopt the principle of growth which has made the British constitution a success. It is a much needed caution and it won't do, as the *Spectator* says, to try rash experiments in India. Even the safe-guards mentioned in the Declaration of August 1917 have been ignored by Mr. Montagu and yet the agitators say that the Declaration has been whittled down in the reform bill. An unprejudiced examination of the provisions in the bill will disclose a number of assumptions for which there are no materials at present in India. Mr. Montagu's has been a sentimental journey in India and his bill is a piece of dangerous invention.

The railway strike in England promises to be a serious affair, and though the Government are taking counter-measures, the evil it may do cannot be exaggerated, The case of the Government is this; they guaranteed that war wage for the railwaymen will continue fully while the cost of living stood at the present level. During the war when the present wage was fixed, the cost of living was 125 per cent above normal and although it has now dropped to 115 the same wage is continued and the Government promise to keep it up till the cost of living drops to 110 per cent, and even then a reduction in the wage will be made only if that percentage continues for 3 months. That seems to be a fair bargain, but the strike is engineered, perhaps, to compel the employers to sanction the continuance of the war wage even if the cost of living reaches a lower level than the 110 per cent mentioned above. We do not know the economic condition of the railway employees but it looks as though they are bent on scoring heavily against the Government, when the Government have not shaken off the effect of the war. When strikes of this magnitude are on, it is impossible for the Government to think of the problems of reconstruction of which we hear so much. The end of the war has not presaged an era of peaceful progress and the ugly turn which events in Europe are taking will only make one doubt if the League of Nations is not a little previous with its schemes of universal brotherhood, when each nation has its work cut out to keep its own house in order before it could find time to fraternise with its neighbour.

The Director of Industries, Madras, in his report on the working of the Department during the last official year informs us that in the forefront of the work of the department must be placed among others mechanical engineering as applied to agriculture. But there is nothing in the report to show that any notable advance was made in that direction. India being mainly an agricultural country the development of its material wealth depends upon the development of its agriculture. It can never become largely industrial. It must, therefore, be the aim of the Government to do their best for agriculture. The application of mechanical engineering to agriculture is one of the best methods of developing it. It is easy to enumerate the difficulties in the way of an extended application of power in agricultural operations. But most of them can be got over if there be a steady policy of development pursued by the Government. In this as in most other things the Government in this country have to take the lead. They have already done much for agriculture, but in the application of power and improved machinery their policy has been halting and timorous, if we may say so. The rules for granting loans for the purchase of plant and machinery are not as liberal as they might be, and that is why the Loans Acts have not been availed of by the agriculturists to an appreciable extent. We fear there is a great deal of red-tapism which smothers initiative in the officers of the department. For instance, if a ryot wants to purchase an oil-engine to irrigate his holding with the help of a State loan, he is required under the Act to buy only a new engine with the advice of the department. If a second hand engine in excellent working order be available he is not allowed to purchase it. We appreciate the spirit of the restrictions imposed by the Loans Acts, but they need not bear too literal an application. We mention this as one instance of the illiberality of the rules. We have been urging on the Madras Government to introduce some desirable amendments in the rules regulating the grant of loans, but so far nothing has been done by them to make the Loans Acts more popular.

Sir George Buchanan has done a service to India by protesting against extravagant expenditure in Mesopotamia on the plea of developing its resources. Mesopotamia may prove an *El Dorado* for Indians as Lord Hordinge was good enough to prophesy. But so far, it has proved to be something of a white elephant. It has taxed our resources to the utmost as may be evidenced by the list submitted to the Imperial Council by Sir Arthur Henderson. The list includes 774 miles of new and second-hand rails, 217 locomotives, and 5423 vehicles. These were commandeered from

the various railway companies in India, and the difficulties of transport caused by such a heavy toll on our railway materials have had not a little to do with the rise in prices which has entailed so much suffering on the Indian population. There would be some comfort to us to know that all this was absolutely needed for war purposes in Mesopotamia. But Sir George Buchanan charges the military authorities there with gross extravagance of expenditure. He says that the wastage under the War Office regime was shocking and there seemed to be an absence of financial control. Making all allowance for the waste incidental to military operations, there seems to have been good ground for Sir George Buchanan's indictment. He is of opinion, that a great deal of abuse of the Government of India in connection with the Mesopotamia scandal was unmerited and the Government were every badly served. Lord Hardinge did his best, for which he only got abuse from callow politicians and arm-chair critics. As a matter of fact, India was bled white as the Finance Minister put it. But the bleeding would seem to continue. There could be no proper justification for indenting further upon the resources of India for 'developing' Mesopotamia. Sir George declares that there must be an end to ordering towns to be built regardless of expense, to the building of concrete roads with materials from India and the carrying of other large public works without estimates properly drawn up by competent men. We have no objection to the conversion of Mesopotamia into a fairy land if somebody else would pay for it. There should be a limit to the commandeering of Indian resources. We have fairly reached it. Gone to Mespot, is the general cry now. Let us stop there, and let not the cry be, going to Mespot still.

Some interesting figures are given in the Government review of irrigation in India during 1917-18. On the capital outlay on the productive irrigation works the return was 8. 40 per cent which is a pretty fair business. It means that irrigation does pay and pays handsomely in India. The figure for the Punjab was 11. 95 per cent, in Madras including the schemes which have proved unremunerative the percentage was 9. 95; in the United Provinces and Sind 8. 62 and 6. 03 respectively. It will be seen that even in the worst districts the percentage of returns on the capital outlay on irrigation is not less than 6, while in the canal districts of the Punjab it is as high as 11. 95. The other day we quoted the opinion of the late Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff that irrigation was the one agency that created food though railways helped in distributing it. He impressed upon the Government of India the supreme importance of developing irrigation and looking upon the construction of railways as only of secondary importance. The first need of India is food and irrigation will give it. While big irrigation projects are necessary to bring vast tracts under cultivation, it is also important that the Government should turn their attention to the construction of irrigation works on a small scale also and the development of existing resources. Every rupee that is invested on irrigation will come back doubled and there need not be the slightest hesitation to ear-mark as much of the revenue as possible for expenditure on irrigation.

Opinions differ as to the advisability of the Government running business concerns at public expenditure. On the one hand there is the fear that strict economy will not be observed in the conduct of the business and on the other it will be an unfair interference with private enterprise. We cannot say that the fear is unfounded but within certain limits the State may step in and start a business for which private enterprise may not be ready. Sir Frederic Nicholson at whose instance a jam and pickle factory is to be started at Coonoor under Government auspices expresses the view 'if Government is of opinion that the industry is not only eventually promising but is distinctly desirable on various grounds, that its establishment is not only a development of national economy and industry but will promote other side lines of industry, namely, the growth of sugar and fruit, the production of containers of tin plate, pottery, glass, wood etc., that it will be of dietic value and that will promote agriculture and industrial intelligence, then it is legitimate to spend reasonable sums in promoting such industry, charging the expenditure to industrial research in the first instance and subsequently if the experiments meet with success to preliminary expenses and the capital outlay.' We have quoted Sir Frederic Nicholson at this length as we think his opinion reflects fairly well responsible Indian opinion on the question of State enterprise in industries. As Sir Frederic points out, the Government can not only afford to wait for profits but speculate in a reasonable way on the results provided the industry has a well considered chance of success and is important and desirable in itself and in the public interest. We should trust that the establishment of the jam and pickle factoty at Coonoor will be an incentive not only for private enterprise in similar direction but also for State enterprise in promising industrial concerns for which private capital may not be forthcoming just yet.

The *Englishman* writes:—The position regarding the provision of passages from Home resembles that which obtained in India during the first half of this year. There is great shipping shortage combined with a great desire to travel and the inevitable consequences. *The Times* estimates that 15,000 people wish to go East—mostly wives and families and business men. But "the East" means anywhere east of Suez we suppose and it is certainly incredible that so many people should be rushing to India. If anything like that number is correct the thousand berths provided in October —by the addition of two extra steamers, too—is hopeless.

THE
Wednesday Review

WEDNESDAY, 1 OCTOBER, 1919.

ILL-INFORMED ENTHUSIASM OVER THE REFORM BILL.

MUCH of the enthusiasm displayed at present in England on the reform bill is ill-informed and is directly due to ignorance of Indian conditions. A careful analysis of the evidence before the Joint-Committee by some witnesses who went into ecstasies over the bill will show that their knowledge of India is either second-hand or antiquated. They belong to the class of cranks who are carried away by the notion that reform is in the air and in the name of reform something startling must be achieved in India. The war has evidently upset their balance of mind and they are obsessed by the shibboleth of reconstruction which has been repeated *ad nauseam* by all and sundry without knowing what reconstruction means in special reference to a country. The war whatever its magnitude cannot have ushered in a new era altogether, and there is little reason to imagine that every country in the world cries for reconstruction as a result of it. We are unable to credit the war with any such phenomenal virtue. It may be that a much larger number of men were killed and more destruction has been done than in previous wars. But beyond the damage done by it, it is all maudlin sentimentalism to speak of it as having tansformed the whole human race into something beyond recognition. For aught we know, we do not yet seem to be out of the wood and it is not time to say, hallo. There is no doubt that among the countries least affected by the war is India and it is impossible to convince Indians that they are a different people from what they were before August 1914 and they must be reformed. Political doctors in England and India are fussily prescribing for a patient who is not suffering from any particular ailment and he is wondering why the doctors are so fussy about him. That is the attitude of the average Indian who represents his country more truly than the self-constituted delegates who repeat Mr. Montagu's prescription with wearisome monotony. The European witnesses who have been telling the Joint-Committee that Indians want catastrophic reforms and they must be satisfied at any cost, have been doing the greatest harm to this country, without their knowing it, of course. A certain section of the British Press also has been infected with the reforming spirit and the articles which are appearing in some of the papers on the subject of reform are amusing reading. Papers like the *Westminster Gazette* write without sufficient knowledge of India. Even the *Times* nods occasionally, though generally its criticisms on Indian affairs are well-informed. The *Gazette* has taken its cue from Mr. Montagu's henchmen and its recent articles on the reform bill betray a lack of apprehension of the true condition in India, and its criticisms therefore are of little value in guiding the Joint-Committee or the Parliament in coming to a right decision on the subject of Indian reform. According to Reuter, the *Westminster Gazette* is of the view that after examination by the Joint-Committee the principle of diarchy holds the field. We are tempted to exclaim that after the confusion created by Mr. Montagu's attempt to reform the administrative system of India root and branch, rank ignorance holds the field. When ignorance holds the field, all impossible and wild proposals of reform would seem to be the acme of wisdom, and it is not surprising that the *Westminster Gazette* should be so emphatically in favor of diarchy, while the fact is diarchy is the least sensible of Mr. Montagu's proposals and contains the greatest danger to India as it will inevitably commit the destinies of the country to the hands of anarchistic politicians. To the large body of responsible Indian opinion, the reform bill will be somewhat acceptable only if diarchy is dropped. Otherwise it cannot reconcile itself to a measure of reform which will mean nothing but ruin to the country. The *Westminster's* enthusiasm for diarchy is ill-informed and it has been misled into it by interested men who for one reason or another are bent upon seeing that diarchy is introduced into the administrative system here. Our contemporary warns Parliament that it will be dangerous to try to reduce the bill and it will be still more serious if the bill failed to become law before the session has ended. Properly speaking, the warning should be the other way about. The real danger lies in rushing the bill through Parliament as it stands with all its objectionable and wild features. Nobody will be the worse for it, if the bill is not passed at once, and the *Westminster Gazette* may feel easy over it. The *Gazette* thinks that the inevitable result of dallying would be that the British Government would have to face the extreme demand when they might have settled with a moderate one. The fact is, the demand that is now being made falsely in the name of the Indian people is an extreme one and cannot by any stretch of imagination be called moderate. The demand that includes diarchy cannot on the face of it be moderate and it is based upon a deliberate and conscious misreading of Indian conditions. As one witness pointed out, the British Government may have some excuse to reform the system of their administration but they have absolutely no right to sell the people of India to a band of self-seeking politicians in the name of reform.

SOUTHERN INDIA HEALTH & WELFARE.

By "Workman."

While 'Publicity' is at the moment thought to be synonymous with the World's 'Welfare', the psychology of the War parties has shown us that the motive behind it is not always made clear, or generally understood; while in the torrents of language used to explain, people are not only often unconvinced but perhaps begin to 'suspect' they are being led in quite simple matters, under a cloud of mystery and occult sciences, to further some sinister purpose.

When we come to think, that Humanity has somehow become blessed with powers to conserve or destroy; with freewill but responsibility for use of it; and that the uncertainty what the neighbour thinks and will do makes for misery, till we know and can trust him, he us, and we ourselves; then we may begin to realise (1) the value, of the universal Religion that teaches us 'duty' in thought and deed, and (2) the value of Science and the Scientists who introduce law and organisation to fix 'Responsibility' over the work essential to healthy survival, ensuring the supremacy of the spirit over matter, of truth over error; of wisdom over ignorance!

A whole Science, and a church in the United States, was evolved to show that people sin through Error in judgment. The Buddha called it the greatest sin—that of ignorance. The Christian Scientists say—'destroy Sin with 'the truth'. Christ said "Forgive Sins, and heal the sick". Who then are the Doctors? The qualified ones are evidently those who perceive the Sin; can sympathise with the suffering caused by it, and even can cure it, cheerfully themselves, by the irresistible power of 'Forgiveness' and 'The Will' to save which enlightens the sinner.

The lesson of 'The Neighbour' is the one applicable to all forms and proportions of Co-operative Work and Government. But if 'Power' to carry it out is easily acquired, and used in work, where 'two or three are gathered together', it is not so easy in the conduct of the work of masses, unless, as Christ said, He is in the midst of them as ONE of 'the workers'. The invocation of His Presence is a matter of The Will of masses and of the world. If they hear His Voice they will keep His commandments. Thus He taught.

With this as a Foundation, all the rest is a matter of the wit and good will of the Scientists studied in details of work.

This little preamble is necessary to enable 'Motive' to be gauged, and statements verified by 'references' in a world of many Religions, and peoples of diverse spiritual and material natures, who can still understand co-operation for work, if properly instructed.

To realise what is wanted is one thing, and to take steps to bring it about judiciously is another. Initiative without a following, or a need for action, is not generally attempted; and to attempt it without the aid and co-operation of 'responsible' authorities means failure to use the tools and machinery provided for the world's workshop.

Governments say—"show us the need; we will show you the Work you must do to supply it". Again;—"you do not always see the need ahead or the dangers threatening. Hear the Scientistis; but trust the Governments to judge action considered necessary."

The Scientists judge that the world is sick of the Feudal regime, and is bent on substituting the spiritual and co-operative System. The one great obstacle to this (Germany) has been removed for the time; but is an occult power to be reckoned with, till the League of Nations assumes effective control of the world's work and Government.

It follows, that with the world-reform contemplated, Nationality will be defined, and responsibility for working ths Land will be fixed everywhere under the sanction of the League. The Economists will thus secure protection for Production, and Local Governments will compete for excellence in work and uplift of Peoples.

The people and Government of Madras have already begun to do this. Witness the excellent organisation in connection with 'The Publicity Board', started by Lord Willingdon, and that of the Public Health and Welfare inaugurated by Lord Pentland; and the arrangements for putting them on a sound working footing, described in the '*Madras Times*' of 22 September.

It is thought by some people that the destinies of mankind are ruled by the caprices of tyrants. This is not so. The tyrant is the Mass Ignorance, which sometime or other is suddenly confronted with inconvenient results,—such as war, pestilence and famine. These, or the fear of them, give birth to Scientists,—as Soldiers, Doctors, and Economists; —either to cure, or what is better, to prevent, the maladies well known to occur under certain conditions.

The press has informed us that the deaths occurring from the Influenza epidemic caused the world greater losses than those of the whole of the belligerents in the War.

It is not at all certain that an era of Peace and Progress more or less propitious in augmenting populations and ease and comfort, will be wholly unattended with decline in good health and general sanity. On the contrary, without a cheerful observance of sound Religious and Moral precepts, trouble is never very far off. It is the business of the Doctors of Divinity to see to this. The Scientists in medicine, are more concerned with physical conditions, and environments, known to produce disease when dirt and corruption supervene. Besides this we know that certain comforts tend to

preserve good health, and these and other material things can under a good system be supplied by a Nation to its peoples if they are duly organised to work for them. They may even be the means of producing more than the Nation wants, thus affording a margin for Foreign Trade.

The Economists come in here to show how it can be done, (the sudra, the worker and producer and the vaisya, the trader and distributor!) Thus far, the four great castes each contributing to the great co-operation for the joint sustenance and Uplift! But do they work independently? Not at all; If they do, they go wrong. The co-ordination of their Wits is effected by the catalysis of the Governor!—an Annointed authority, trusted for super-wit and wisdom in the fine Art of *Co-operative* rule, and direction of masses!! [In Chemistry change or fusion of substances, by the presence of another, which does not undergo any.]

Here we have 'the Punchayat' of Supreme Science, that only requires the magnetic touch of a Public inspiration, or a need, to spring human machinery into responsive responsible action. What more does India or any country want, or has ever had, for its work and Government When the frailties of popular and divided Rule had convulsed the whole of Europe, in the last resort Rule ultimately devolved into a Council of Four, with Marshal Foch as the Catalyst. The Gunesha–The remover of Difficulties! The World's 'Need' conferred the Authority.

And as the need of Sanitary Science and popular co-operation in giving its effect has produced the Welfare Association that is to be housed in Victoria Buildings Madras, 19, Commander-in-Chief's Road Nungambakkam; where also, the 'Publicity Bureau' 'The Red Cross Depot', 'Rupee Fund', and kindred Associations will be located.

A whole time Secretary will be appointed. There will be specialised Sub-Committees dealing with different branches of work–such as 'Child Welfare', Milk, Epidemic, Hygene.

The Aenemia of over centralisation is to be averted by constituting Moffusil Committees whose initiative is invited on all matters,— if necessary, in communication with the Central office in Madras, which will be in touch with the Government.

Anything more interesting than this 'Venture' can hardly be conceived. It affords the opportunity for all classes, races and creeds, to join in a *Good Work* on a sensible plan and method.

The uplift of the 'depressed classes' is one of the objects to be considered; and for practical consideration, the advance is dependent on 'organising' and registering such members of families as are willing to work and want employment. and helping them to get it. We want more than this. The world is universally cogitating over the best way of using capital and labour, and as usual,—after long experience-it is found, sounder economic efficiency, to adopt 'Co-operation' rather than conflict over the National Work. This is the reason also that has given birth to the 'League of Nations', for precisely the same objectives.

Here again, Government control is required. and is being emphasised by the Work Scientists,—to encourage the devotion of some of the capiital subscribed for public works being spent in due proportion of outlay, for housing the employees, where permanent employment is given. It is not at all likely any loss would be incurred by thus attending to the comfort and health of the workmen, where their environments could be kept clean, and their health regulated.

The inauguration of 'Health' Movement is to take place officially at the beginning of 1920, when there is to be a 'Week' of rejoicing over it, which it is to be hoped will be thoro'ly 'understanded' of the people.

REVIEW.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE WAR.

Christianity and the War, by Rev. Ernest R. Hull, S. J Editor of the Examiner.

It is inevitable that when things go wrong the Psychology responsible for it should be critisised, and if possible blame be traced to individuals responsible for pursuing erratic aims and objects clashing with the universal welfare. The Revd Ernest Hull has done good service in taking up the cudgels to show that Christianity is not responsible to produce or prevent War, as some people seem to think.

The late war was only entirely the result of natural causes, not connected with Religion, but with the System by which the World's Work and Government was being carried on, and which if not reformed, will certainly lead to other Wars. The religious spirit in all peoples, the element of Divinity in Man linking him with the Almighty—constantly struggles for supremacy in the Councils; but the fact of 'survival' depends on Work for the '*Daily Bread*'; which again, requires Organisation and Law, in the process of getting it.

This is possible to be arranged for, given a stable Local Government. But when many Local Governments, and the peoples they represent scientifically, are competing to populate their Land *without limit*, it is only a matter of common sense to perceive that they must come into conflict sooner or later. Germany was loud in expressing this fact at the beginning of the War; and telling us, that there was no Supreme World Government and no Law for which anybody undertook any 'responsibility-. Now it is absolutely against all laws of Nature that Power can be in operation independently of that at the centre of the Uni-

verse, which controls movement and direction of matter. The Scientists in World-Government are all anxious that the Work of Humanity should be controlled from a Centre for the purpose of bringing all into harmony with Nature's laws; while the Doctors of Divinity are no less emphatic in showing the individual the 'way' to self-control, and a perception of the just '*limit*' to Desires and Aspirations.

Peace may be an Heavenly Ideal; but without International 'uplift' and self control, as a universal World Power—a matter of Religion, Education, and acceptance of Responsibility—overgrowth of populations must naturally lead to decline and fall, from War, petilence or famine.

We are hoping that the Universal intelligence focussed through delegates to the Central League of Nations is going to organise for the work of the world in ways that will fix responsibility, for breaches of the Laws that will be laid down.

The writer gives an instance or a well thought-out scheme for the 'Bridge' from War to Peace by Mgr. Touchet Bishop of Orleans which may be quoted with advantage :—

ART 1. From the day that the final peace-treaty is signed, Military Conscription to cease.

2. Wo State to support more troops than are needed for its interior security.

3. No sovereign or president to have the right to declare War, but the right shall be reserved to the various Nations and be exercised by 'referendum' (popular Vote).

4. A Court of Arbitration to be set up and accepted by all civilised Nations, for the purpose of investigating and deciding all International differences that may arise, and decisions of this tribunal to be final and compulsory.

5. Should any Nation refuse to abolish Conscription or to admit jurisdiction of the International Court of Arbitration, it is to be 'Boycotted' by all the rest, financially, commercially and in every other way. (outcasted!).

6. All civilised Nations to be invited to the Peace Congress.

The effective part of the proposal is in the old Hindoo Caste System of 'outcasting' for breaking the Laws. When we at the same time provide facilities for discussing and constitutionally altering the Laws for good reason shown,—as would be done under the Ægis of The League of Nations, we have advanced a good step towards fulfilling our responsibilities under the commands of our religious teachers.

What Cardinal Newman emphasised in his Sermons was the Doctrine of Personal 'Responsibility', and it is evident that this is at the bottom of the whole trouble, when it is not, and cannot, be fixed, under Workmanlike Systems for 'Universal Co-operation' for the common purpose of all Mankind.

If 'Responsibility' is the Key note of the Peace Organisation it must apply equally to the experts directing the World's Work, and the Peoples carrying it out for their own benefit. The mass vote or Referendum can be applied on a concrete problem formulated by the experts conducting a Government; but we have evidence of the danger of Masses organising themselves for attacks on the Public that are greatly facilitated when whole populations are conscripted, get out of the Government control, and begin massacring one another,

The six Articles are probably likely to meet with general approval; and it is a good sign when the Doctors of Divinity take up the practical side of the World's Work and Government, which has such an intimate connection with the Spiritual side, in promoting the universal happiness, and moral uplift.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The constitution of the League is completed by the establishment of a Permanent Secretariat at a central city which shall be the capital of the League. This secretariat will be the preactical international civil service and will co-ordinate the work of the various intrenational organs placed under the supervision of the League.

It is important to realise that this central constitution of the League is intended to secure two main objects. In the first place. it is intended to place the control over foreign policy directly in the hands of the chief responsible statesmen of each nation who will meet periodically in person, either in the Body of Delegats or in the Executive Council, to survey the state of the world, to settle outstanding difficulties and to make preparations against any possible disturbance of the peace. Such matters are no longer to be dealt with by correspondence through Foreign offices and diplomatists, but are to become one of the main duties of statesmen immediately responsible to the public opinion of their peoples. As such personal meetings of Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries or other statesmen, can only be called together from time, to time the central constitution of the League is also intended to provide a permanent administrative service which can link up the meetings of the delegates or of the council, and can supervise from day to day the whole range of current international work entrusted to the technical commissions and bureaux of the League. To complete this part of our summary of the Covenant, it may be well to explain exactly what this permanent international organisation at the capital of the League will be

There is first, the central secretariat itself under a secretary general appointed and controlled by the Council. There is next, under Article 9, a permanent Commision which is to advise the League as to armaments and as to military and naval questions generally.

There is to be a Permanent Court of International Justice, the constitution of which is to be elaborated by the Executive Council and to which members of the League will be able to submit disputes on which they desire a judicial decision. There is to be a "Mandatory Commission" which is to receive annual reports from Powers holding mandates from the League for the administration of certain territories in Africa and the Pacific, and for the assistance of certin new States in Western Asia. These mandates are to lay down certain principles which the Mandatory Powers will be pledged to cary out and the Mandatory Commission is to examine the manner in which these obligations are fulfilled. There is to be a Permanent Bureau of Labour, which is to co-ordinate and bring up to as high a level as possible the labour legislation of all countries. The constitution of this Bureau of Labour and the definition of the terms of each mandate in Africa Western Asia and the Pacific are made the subject of separate detailed agreements. Other articles of the Covenant foreshadow detailed agreements for controlling the trade in arms and ammunition with undeveloped parts of the world, such as Africa and Western Asia, and for securing rights of free transit and fair trade for the commerce of all members of the League. There is already an International Bureau in connection with the Arms Traffic. This bureau is to be strengthened and enlarged and placed in direct connection with the League.

The commercial rights which are to be secured to all members of the League, will alone necessitate the most comprehensive and varied machinery. In order to secure commercial freedom of transit, international commisions like the Danube Commission must be set up to regulate navigation ove- many international rivers, such as the Vistula and the Rhine. Detailed arrangements will also have to be made for dealing with great international railroads, such as the Bagdad Railway, and great seaports, free access through which is essential to the prosperity of inland peoples such as Salonica, Batum and Danzig, the activites of these various local bodies will presumably have to be co-ordinated by a central office at the capital of the League. In addition, elaborte machinery must be provided for the rapid settlement of the varied disputes which are sure to arise in connection with railroad rates, navigation dues. and so forth. Commercial disputes in regard to tariffs, trade marks and so forth will also have to be made the subject of special machinery.

Article 24 of the Covenant seeks to place under the control of the League all the international bureaux already in existence for regulating matters of common interest. These existing international bureaux cover a wide range ef subjects closely affecting the business and the health of all nations Such are, for instance, the Universal Postal Union the International Office of Public Health at Paris the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property, and the International Red Cross, which it is proposed to develop and apply to the relief of suffering and the prevention of disease in time of peace. The creaton of further international organs of the same nature are also contemplated.

It will be evident from this survey that the constitution of the League is designed not to establish some rigid, new international system with elaborate powers, but to provide a continual means of discussion, and continual opportunities for new international agreements by which measures may be taken against any disturbance of the peace and new permanent machinery set up for the common problems. Foreign policy is thus brought directly into the sphere of the average man and into touch with the demands of labour, business and science in all countries; and a definite and regular meeting-ground is provided where these demands may continually express themselves through the responsible governments of all countries which are thus brought into immediate and continual contact with each other.

One great problem remains. If all this machinery of international action fails to satisfy the interests of ths various peoples; if, in spite of the advance which it makes over the old diplomacy; wrongs are left unredressed, or national demands unsatisfied; if the habit of international co-operation developed by continuous common work in the various practical branches of the Langue's organisation proves insufficient to avert serious disputes, or to allay poular unrest or military ambitions, how are such disputes to be settled, and how is war to be averted?

The middle part of the Covenant deals with this problem. Articles 8—11 recognise the possibily of threats to the peace of the world, and charge the Executive Council with the duty of drawing up plans against any such danger. Armaments, as being in themselves a cause for war, are to be reduced, but not below the point required by national safety and by the oblgation of each member of the League in certain eventualities to come to the aid of its fellows. All members of the League are pledged to preserve each other against external aggression, and the League is to concern itself with all dangers which may threaten the peace of nations. These are merely general provisions.

As in all matters of policy under the League, nothing of an executive nature can be done except by agreement between the members of the League, are at any rate between those powerfnl members represented on the Excutive Council on whom falls the main burden of protecting their fellow-members against aggression, Reliance is placed upon the fact already explained that the policy of the League is placed directly in the hands of the responsible staesmen of all the Powers in personal consultation. If men of such authority and power are unable, when danger is foreseen, to agree upon adequate measures of protection, then it is vain to hope that the Conference at Paris can devise such measures in advance.

Next, Articles 12-16 deal with cases where there may be no wanton intention of sudden aggression, but where serious disputes arise which the parties

fail to settle between themselves. In the case of disputes of this nature, the parties may be willing to refer the question at issue to arbitration. If so, they are left free to choose their own tribunal, but when the tribunal they have chosen has given its award, they are bound to carry it out in full good faith. If they do not do so, the Executive Council is to propose what steps can be taken to give effect to it. This, again, is a merely general and indefinite duty entrusted to the Council. Statesmanship and wisdom in dealing with difficult issues cannot be defined by a footrule in advance. Discretion must be left to the responsible elected representatives of the peoples assembled in the Executive Council. *The Empire Review*

THE SUGAR-CANE INDUSTRY.

THE phenominally large imports of Java sugar into this country and the high retail prices now prevailing in the market have tended to focus our attention on the improvement of the sugar-cane industry of India. Again, the constantly increasing consumption of sugar in all countries of the world and the complete cessation of the imports of beet-root sugar from Germany and Austria have given an impetus to the Indian industry. And therefore, the question is being freely discussed if India can take advantage of this opportunity and grow sufficient sugar-cane to meet the needs home consumption and also become an exporting country as she once was. The news of the appointment of a strong Commission of sugar-cane experts with Mr. Mckenna as chairman to explore the possibilities of the sugar Industry is, therefore, to be hailed with delight and we doubt not that the labours of this Commission would result in placing this very important Indian industry on a secure footing.

The difficulties that have till now stood in the way of any large extension or improvements in the sugar-cane industry of this countrys are chiefly four in number, *i.e.*, the poor character of the canes grown, the very small holdings on which the crop is cultivated; in sufficient water-supply, and inferior methods of extracting sugar. It is the aim of this article to show how these difficulties have been largely overcome in South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency where a large up-to-date factory has been successfully working for the past two decades.

At one time, and that not long ago, a thin whitish cane was the only one grown by the ryots in this district. It was a poor variety and easily ravaged by jackal and other animals. But thanks to the unremitting efforts of the Madras Agricultural Department these ryots fully appreciated the advantages of growing a thicker and better class of cane, the value of which had been demonstrated to them by Government Agricultural Farm at Palur. In a few years the cultivation of the poor indigenous variety was completely given up, and in its place the Red Mauritius cane was grown. To-day it is impossible to see any tract round the Nellikuppam Factory growing the old cane. The Red Mauritius is the favourite of the ryots, Better varieties are being grown experimentally. but the ryots have not been induced to take to their cultivation on a large scale with any great enthusiasm. They are perfectly satisfied with the thick Red Mauritius. Thus we see that the Indian ryot is not after all so hopelessly conservative. He evidently understands his business and is not slow to give up his traditional ways if only one is satisfied with the results of new experiments and improvements in agriculture.

The sub-division of land in India is another real difficulty in the way of large agrirultural improvements. The holdings of the ordinary ryots are so small and scattered that the use of up-to-date machinery is not possible on a large scale. When a tract of agricultural land is fairly large and compact, irrigation from wells by Oil Engine Pumps, and ploughing by Motor-driven machinery can be successfully undertaken. In the case of sugar-cane, carting charges to the factory can be reduced to a minimum if the cultivated area is large and near the frctory. So small holdings should give place to large ones if the sugar-cane industry is to be extended and improved.

This great difficulty of small holdings has been successfully overcome in the South Arcot District by the factory taking over all the small holdings in a certain area on a ten years lease or even a fifteen year one. The whole tract thus acquired by lease is levelled and put under Motor-driven plougs. Manuring irrigation and general superintendence are thus rendered easy, and the strain on the ryots cattle in ploughing and in lifting water for the crop is, therefore, considerably reduced, while the canes are easily and regularly carted to the central factory. When the lease is about to expire, the ryots are given the option to take back their holdings or lease them again to the factory. In the farmer case the land is again sub-divided and plotted and the boundary carefully marked and the holdings handed over to the owners.

This system seems to us to be a very successful solution of the problem of small holdings in India. The very fact that the ryots are willing to lease their holdings again shows that in their opinion the transaction or the contract with the factory is on the whole advantageous to them. It should therefore be possible for a co-operative concern to take on lease the small holdings of the ryots in other places and employ modern agricultural machinery in the cultivation of sugar-cane.

The next difficulty which the sugar-cane cultivator has to face is insufficient water-supply. But where large stores of subterranean water are available, Oil Engine Pumps can be easily erected at convenient distances in a sugar-cane tract, so as to ensure a regular and constant water-supply.

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At Nellikuppam and the surrounding areas, the use of oil engines for pumping water to sugar-cane fields is a common feature. The soil being workable, the construction of wells in this part of the District has presented no difficulties; and six to ten acres of land are being easily irrigated in a day by one of these small engines. The fear of failure of water-supply has been thus reduced to a minimum; and the expenditure too on the sinking of the wells and the putting up of the engine pumps is more than compensated by the unusually good crop.

Lastly we come to the inferior methods of extracting sugar. At present a large number of ryots are using the three Roller Iron Mills which are worked by a pair of cattle. These are no doubt an improvement on the old wooden mills, but are still unsatisfactory inasmuch as a large percentage of cane juice is left unexpressed. This is a clear waste which can be avoided only by the use of power-driven mills. "Each of these at Prewar prices cost about Rs-12,000, and is capable of dealing with 100 acres of good cane in a season. Roughly of the sugar consumed in India, three-fourths is mported. Roughly also, of that grown in the country onethird is wasted owing to the inefficiency of the primitive methods of extraction. Nearly one half of this loss might easily be avoided. and if it were, the profits of cane cultivation would be greatly increased." (Report of the Indian Industrial Commission.)

In South Arcot there are two powerful steam mills which togther crush all the sugar-cane grown in the eastern cane-tract of the district The increase in the yield of sugar and the quality of the juice expressed have already opened the eyes of the Indian ryots, but want of capital stares them in the face. A rich Indian farmer with commendable enterprise installed on his estate in this District a small power-driven plant, which, however, is not a growing concern today, chiefly, because of the great factors at Nellikuppam.

But this failure should not be considered seriously. There is no doubt that the use of power-driven machinery in the extraction of cane-juice and in the making of sugar will increase the yield by at least ten per cent. The success of the large factory at Nellikuppam in recent years should once dispel and doubt the future of this industry, proveded that mordern machinery is employed. The Industries Commission say in their reports "The universal adoption of power plants for cane crushing would cost about thirty crores of rupees: this expenditure would be justified by the consequent reduction of the present cost of cane-crushing and by the increased yield of sugar. The indirect gains to agriculture would also be of the highest importance. Large numbers of cattle, whose work must be equivalent to many hundreds of thousands probably millions, of horse power, are employed in lifting water and crushing cane. It is hardly realised how heavy is the burden thus entailed upon the farmer's cattle and how severe the resulting deterioration of their working power for purposes of cultivation'"

The Indian sugar-cane Industry has, therefore, a great future if the improvments suggested above can be speedily effected. Here is a great field for Co-operative work being immediately undertaken under the auspices of the Government'

The Mysore Economic Jurnal.

SELECTION.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE POURANIC AGE

The description of a hermitage in the Kurma Purana agrees with all the noble associations which are recalled to our mind by that word. But as we have already seen, the sages who are supposed to dwell therein, and of whom we read in the Puranas, are not always given to plain living and high thinking, and are far from immaculate. The doings of the sage Kapota in the Kalika Purana, almost reach the highwater mark of iniquity and yet in the account we quote from there is not a word of blame or reproach for such saintly blackguardism. Kapota, excited by the sight of queen Taravati bathing in a tank, made immoral overtures to her, which she resenting, he threatened her with curses, at which she got terrified, and sent him one of her maids disguised to represent herself. When the worthy sage saw her coming, he tried to fortify his conscience by reciting the precedents of the renowned sages Gotama and Bharadwaja, both of whom were guilty of similar moral lapses, and mentally resolved to absolve himself from sin by practising religious austerities after the act. When afterwards the ruse played by the queen was detected by him, he grew violently angry and charged her with basely deceiving him, and pronounced a most horrible imprecation on her.

One more quotation given at some length, will show the sort of stuff with which popular imagination was intentionally inflamed, under the guise of exhortations to religious worship, or devotion to some renowned god. I do not forget the injunction in some of the Puranas to try to understand their spirit instead of arguing on mere words and the imprecations poured on the heads of those who violate this salutary principle of interpretation. In fact, I appeal to the same criterion myself, and desire that the passage quoted below. And indeed all the other Pouranic quotations made in these articles, should be judged by the same standard. 'It is by the worship of Mahadeva,' says the Devi Purana, 'that one has the good fortune of being served by blue-eyed women, decked out in silk and jewellery, whose captivating gait, as they walk about with eyebrows turned this way and that, cause their full bosoms to quiver. It is by the grace of the same god that a man has mighty elephants, golden mace, white umbrella, beautiful yaktails and other emblems of royalty at his command. He on whom Mahesvara is pleased, enjoys the exquisite bliss of the gods in crystal-white palaces, women of pleasure with the lyre and other musical instruments enhance his happiness by discoursing sweet music with graceful blandishments. It is due to the worship of Mahadeva alone that men enjoy sweet drinks in bejewelled goblets, —drinks which are red like the Bandhuka flower, fragrant like the blue lotus, and which reflect the brightness of the teeth of their sweet hearts, and are agitated by their breath. Only devotion to Shiva can lead to such good fortune at that of being served by 'damsels' with their waist bedecked with girdles, their full thighs covered

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with silk, with large eyes, charming grace of figure and lovely face. It is surely owing to the favour of Sambbu that one, lying in a couch in his palace, enjoys the noctural embrace of women of pleasure anxious for it, and is awakened in the morning by sweet music. He on whom Mahadeva is pleased, can even enter the inner apartments of the lovely denizens of the nether regions, protected by various mechanisms and terrible guards though they be, and having increased his virile powers by taking medicines of proved efficacy to be obtained there, enjoy those passionate maidens......How can he whose forehead has not been scarred by bowing in the dust hundreds of time before the feet of Sambhu expect the good fortune of embracing the busts of bejewelled maidens, adorned with sandalwood paints ?'

In bringing this series of studies to a close, I have a word of explanation to offer. The sombre colouring of the portrait here drawn may repel many readers, and at first sight it may seem even unpatriotic on the part of the writer to have selected only the darker tints to heighten the effect. In would be foolish, as well as untruthful, to say that the Puranas do not contain anything ennobling or elevated in them. Stories like those of Dhruba Pralhada and Harishchandra have drawn tears from many a devout eye, the Bhagavata has afforded pure spiritual joy and taught the religion of love to unnumbered millions of Indians during countless ages; The Puranas are the great storehouse from which all provincial literatures have drawn copiously, to their great enrichment and embellishment; they are the perennial fountain from which professional readers or Kathakas have replenished their stock of pious and inspiring legends, only to scatter them broadcast among the rural people and the inmates of the zenana, thus spreading culture, purifying the emotions and sweetening the lives of the masses without book-learning. The traditions of worship and pilgrinage and the common stock of sacred myths which in spite of the innumerable castes and sects into which Hinduism is now divided, bind together the Hindus of to-day with their forefathers of an earlier day when Islam had not gained a permanent foothold in India, and also with their modern co-religionists all over the sacred land of Bharatavarsha,-have all been gathered together, cemented, preserved, and made popularly available in the Puranas, and in the face of strong antagonistic and disruptive tendencies with which Hinduism is confronted, the service they have rendered to the cause of national religion, and solidarity cannot be ignored. But when all this is said, the debit side of the account must also be reckoned with, and this is what I have attempted, in a slight measure, to do in these articles. It is not because I am deficient in appreciation of the many good points in Pouranic literature that I have preferred to dwell mainly on the seamy side, but it is because I find that great harm is being done to the country by blind admiration of the Puranas that I have adopted this course. True patriotism must be discriminating; its admiration of the ancient faith and literature of the land, in order to be effective, must be a reasoned admiration; otherwise it will, by its blind zeal, overshoot the mark and achieve nothing. It is good to look on things Indian with the artists' eye and the imagination of the poet, but we should take care not to be blind to unpleasant truths. And the real truth, in regard to the Puranas, is that considering their immense bulk the amount of profitable matter which they contain is quite small. But this, unfortunately, is not the whole truth about them. Had the rest of their contents been merely indifferent in character, they would not have deserved serious notice. Much, however, is puerile in the extreme, and this has, by its reflex action, influenced the nation to indulge seriously in childish thoughts and activities, and much, I must say, is positively bad. And it is necessary to expose their baneful character in order to combat the spirit which has been rapidly gaining ground among my co-religionists since Swadeshi movement came to the fore—a spirit which I consider to be fruitful of vast mischief unless checked in time. The attitude of the majority of our educated countrymen, who, I regtet to say, neither read the Shastras nor exercise their reasoning faculty on what little they read in the light of the comparative method of historical study which alone enables us to see things in their proper perspective, may be categorically reduced to the following few articles of faith: (*a*) The Shastras—by which most nen mean anything and everything written in Sanskrit provided its age is not definitely known to be quite modren—are infallible (*b*) Everything written in them, however apparently bad or unmeaning, is full, of the profoundest wisdom, if only we know how to understand them aright (*c*). All that we have got to do is therefore to return to them, and seek the key to their interpretation and we need not go to the West either for enlightenment or progress. That thoughtful foreigners, who have devoted much time and study to the relations between India and the West, have long detected this attitude of the Hindu mind will be seen from the following extract: " Many travellers have said that the learned Hindu, even when he acknowledges our power and makes use of our railways, is so far from regarding us with reverence that he very sincerely despises us. This is only natural. We are not cleverer than the Hindu; our minds are not richer or larger than his. We cannot astonish him, as we astonish the barbraian, by putting before him ideas that he never dreamed of. He can match from his poetry our sublimest thoughts; even our science perhaps has few conceptions that are altogether novel to him. Our boast is not that we have more ideas or more brilliant ideas, but that our ideas are better tested and sounder, The greatness of modern, as compared with medieval or ancient, civilisation is that it possesses a larger stock to demonstrated truth, and therefore infinitely more of practical power. But the poetical or mystical philosopher is by no means disposed to regard demonstrated truth with reverence; he is rather apt to call it shallow, and to sneer at its practical triumphs while he revels for his part in reverie and the luxury of unbounded speculation." The result of this attitude has been described by the same writer when, referring to 'the arrested and half-crushed civilisation of a gifted race [Indians],' he says that 'whatever this race achieved it achieved long ago,' and that the present condition of the Aryans of India 'resembles strikingly the medieval phase of the civilisation of the West.' By Mr. Jnan Chandra Bannerjea, M. A., B. L., *The Hindustan Review.*

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